

INDIVIDUAL, FAMILY, AND CLAN

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tially patriarchal group to receive a distinctive name for it to become a separate clan. 614
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While in origin the clan and the village are co-extensive, this state of affairs is by no means always maintained. War, dispersal, and migration have scattered some clans and drawn others together; so that now on the one hand we may find representatives of one clan in a number of villages, and on the other a single village comprising several clans. In the latter place it is found that the several clans occupy more or less distinct locations.

The Origin of Clan Names. It has been said that the essential feature which gives identity to a clan is a distinctive name. Beyond this it has a further mark of identity in the shape of a specific plant-emblem, called *beratu*. The *beratu* will be the subject of another chapter. I may here continue to discuss the first of these essential features, viz. the name, and account for its origin. 614
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It is by no means unusual for a man to identify himself by the name of his parent or ancestor as well as by his own. An interesting example of this is seen in the cries of triumph uttered by the warrior or the hunter. As he drives his spear into the victim or the pig he shouts, not his own name, but some such expression as *Embogetabije!* (*Abije*, or descendant of *Emboge*); *Hositamei!* (lit. 'Son of Hosi', though in the case in point Hosi is the paternal grandfather); or *Kaiepa-ta-bijari!* (begotten of *Kaiepa*).¹ A woman making a big haul of fish might be elated enough to cry *Handau-ta-du!* (sister of *Handau*, who is the 'big man' of her clan). In other cases the successful hunter cries out his clan name, e.g. *Jagasiabije!*, or *Sarabu-ta-bijari!*, in which *Jagasi* and *Sarahu* are the names of the clans rather than of any definite or well-remembered person.

Again all the underlings of any 'big man' will be known to others under his name. In the Sangara dialect there is a word *tekaboka*, of which I do not know the literal meaning, but which appears to stand for a 'following'. When, at a gathering of the clans for war, or for some peaceful cere- 614
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¹ In some cases it appears that the man cries the name of his maternal relative, either grandfather or uncle.

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614 mony, the several parties make their appearance each follow-
 551 ing in single file behind its leader, a cry will go up, 'Here
 554 come the people, the *Tekaboka*, of Embuja, of Ehari, of
 Andari!'—whoever the big man may be. So in the Aiga
 language there is a word *ambotani*, which embraces all a
 man's junior relatives; and thus a number of more or less
 unimportant individuals may be known to others as the
 juniors of a certain big man and identified by his name.

614 There is no well-defined chieftainship among the Oro-
 888 kaiva, but merely a recognized ascendancy of the old men.
 554 The leader and ruler of any clan is the eldest of its men,
 provided he is not so old as to be incompetent, and pro-
 vided always that his personality is equal to his position.
 It is consequently difficult to find a word which would
 correspond with our idea of 'chief', and unsatisfactory to
 use the English word 'chief', as too pretentious for even the
 most important of clan leaders. The Orokaiva expressions
 as far as I know them are *embo-be* (a proper man), and *embo-
 peni*, *embo-pajirari*, *embo-paitukiari*, and *embo-siakabada* (all of
 which mean no more than 'big or important man'); and these
 terms may be used of men of importance who cannot claim
 to be actually leaders. There are two other terms, however,
 which seem to possess a more specific application: they are
embo-javoari and *embo-penjavo*. The first appears to mean 'the
 man who gives the name' (*javo*), and the second is no doubt
 a contraction of *embo-peni-javo* (man—big—name). The im-
 plication is that the real chief is the man who gives his name
 to his followers, i.e. the man by whose name they are collec-
 tively known.

614 It is readily understood how in this simple patriarchal
 organization the group may take its collective name from
 the leader or patriarch. Further, one may be surprised on
 asking who is the *embo-javoari* of a certain group, to be given
 the name of a man who is dead. Chieftainship among the
 Orokaiva is so rudimentary that a successor may not yet,
 so to speak, have taken shape. But that does not matter.
 The group is content to be known as the followers of the
 dead man.

All this leads to the conclusion (if it be not too obvious

727 name of the second. His original name was Ata; his first
551 victim was Asi and his second Ehari. He is now called
Ehari though he has since killed five others.

Although the stoutest warrior does not disdain to take the life of a woman, he does not assume her name. I have one case, however, in which the slayer gave the name of his woman victim to his infant daughter. The habit of bestowing the victim's name upon the child of the slayer (sometimes born subsequently) is again a common one. I quote an example by H. L. Griffin:

'It is a common thing amongst the Binandele for a man who kills a big chief to take the dead man's name, which he becomes very proud of; but my orderly, Constable Gisi-Gada, received his name rather curiously. His father, a Dauntutu man, went to fight on the Waria, and killed a big Waria chief named Gisi-Gada. On his return his wife informed him that she was pregnant. He was so pleased at this that he said that, if the child was a boy, he should have the name Gisi-Gada instead of his father. Everything turned out as desired, and so my orderly bears the distinguished name. But it was an instance of self-abnegation on the part of the father that is very rare in Papua.'

This is a typical example, though I cannot believe that self-abnegation in general is very rare among Papuans; and the particular habit of giving the name of the slain to the son of the slayer is not rare but common.

579 It is interesting to note that in the case of an inter-clan
551 fight (somewhat unusually fierce) in which two were killed on one side and five on the other, the slayers did not take the names of the slain. For this I received the somewhat bald explanation that the two factions lived at too close quarters and feared magic.

727 The usual native explanation of the practice under dis-
551 cussion is that the name of the slain is adopted as a distinc-
554 tion. It draws attention to the fact that a man is *embo-dari* or *mai-dari*, i.e. a man-slayer, and marks him, therefore, as one of valour, *koropabuso*, 'strong or expert with the spear'. It serves to commemorate his exploit.

727 Another explanation has already been suggested, viz. that
551 adopting the name of the slain is in some manner a protec-

¹ Quoted by J. H. P. Murray, Lieutenant-Governor, in *Annual Report*, 1908-9, p. 23.

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tion against the latter's avenging spirit or *diroga*. As we shall see, the Orokaiva dreads the spirits of the dead, whether slain in fight or dying in peace, and it may be that the tabus and observances which are customary with the man-slayer are in the nature of precautions against the spirit (*asisi* or *diroga*) of his victim. It may also be that by adopting the latter's name the slayer hopes to make himself invulnerable, because the dead would not assail the man who now bore his own name. This explanation, however, is merely a suggestion, and even if it be true, it is certainly not explicit in the native mind. Somewhat against it are the facts that a slayer of many men is known by the name of only one of them; that a man does not take a female victim's name; and that in an inter-clan fight the names of the slain were not taken at all. On the whole it seems that we must discard the tempting explanation (viz. that the adoption of the name is a precautionary measure against the spirit of the slain), and fall back on the simpler statement of the native, that it is in the nature of a distinction.

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551*Homicidal Insignia*

There is another kind of distinction, viz. the wearing of certain ornaments, &c., which may be described as homicidal insignia. To these is given the general name *otobu*, or the specific name of *esa*. The latter will be found more satisfactory here. The subject of these insignia among the Orokaiva is not so straightforward as we might expect, owing to the fact—a happy one from all points of view save the present—that homicide has long gone out of fashion, or at least no longer bears an honorific implication, so that the customs connected with it cannot be studied directly. The best written on the subject is found in the admirable article by the late W. N. Beaver in the *Annual Report*, 1918-19, pp. 96-9.

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The source of confusion is in the fact that *otobu* ornaments are also given in connexion with initiation, where they certainly do not imply that the recipient has been a man-slayer. The concrete fact that they are given to girls as well as to boys or men is enough to prove this. Beaver

301 made a distinction between homicidal *otobu* and 'pig-*otobu*',
 554 the former being conditioned by the killing of a man, the
 latter virtually bought with a pig. My own inquiries confirm this distinction, though I would attach more importance to the latter class than he does, and would prefer to state the matter thus, that the *esa*, or homicidal insignia, are a special class of *otobu*. The general subject of *otobu* will be discussed in the next chapter.

In the meantime it appears that the man-slayer, having undergone the forms of purification or exorcism, might at some convenient date receive his *otobu*, or, as I shall call it, *qua* homicidal insigne, his *esa*. I say 'might' because some of the older informants have assured me that an *esa* was not given invariably. Moreover, it seems that certain ornaments, which are rightly enough *otobu*, have been too freely regarded as *esa*, i.e. as implying that their possessor must be a homicide. My own inquiries have led me to believe that the variety of homicidal insignia was very limited. Beaver has given two lists, one for the coastal and central tribes and one for the Wasida and the trans-Kumusi. The first is of eight, and the second of twelve alternative ornaments or objects.¹ (It will be understood that the River People in the north observe similar customs and use similar *esa*.) I do not repeat these in full, but draw attention to several of the more striking. It seems likely that Nos. 1 and 2 (the hornbill beaks and the cuscus fur) were exclusive homicidal insignia or *esa* proper, i.e. they could be worn only by man-slayers. But save for these two, and possibly though doubtfully for the other three mentioned with them, I am led to believe that the long list of ornaments given by Beaver, as well as many others mentioned by native informants, were presented just as readily to the peaceful initiate as to the successful warrior.

1. *Peremo*: hornbill beaks arranged in a semicircle with points outward and worn on the forehead.
2. *Siropu*, *Koviropu*, *Bauri*: different varieties of cuscus. Strips of the furry skin with small bunches of feathers tied at intervals are worn as streamers from the armlets or the club.

¹ *Annual Report*, 1918-19, pp. 97, 98.

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3. *Gana*: an ornament formed of pig-tusks, suspended over the breast, or held in the teeth. 301
4. *Bati-ananya*: a forehead band of shell slabs and dogs' teeth, terminating on either side in a rosette of dogs' teeth. 554 ●
5. *Ki-overo*: a spear decorated with tufts of coloured feathers.

Beaver has given some interesting hints as to the symbolism of various *esa*. For example, the *Bati-ananya* symbolizes 'the clawing hands and grinning teeth of the dead'. Again, 'simba—a head-dress of dogs' teeth, "sapi sapi" shells and beads, symbolical of the head smashed in by the stone club (?)'. The interrogation mark in the latter case makes it appear as if the writer did not entirely trust his informant, and while such symbolic interpretations are worth recording, we may well doubt whether they are the generally accepted interpretations, or, indeed, whether any general interpretation exists. It is not impossible that the above meanings are the extempore creations of imaginative informants reading their own meaning into the object on the spur of the moment; and I dare say that if we sought them we could discover a variety of symbolic interpretations for any one *esa*.

In the normal instance the *esa* will be provided by the father of the slayer, but the actual bestowal or investiture will be performed by some old warrior of renown who has made many victims of his own. After this ceremony the same old warrior will paint the face of the young slayer.

The main purpose of the *esa* is apparently honorific. To the Orokaiva it is, or was, an ambition to kill a man, and the man-slayer was in a manner lionized. When a warrior who already had a victim to his credit held an enemy at his mercy, he might forbear out of generosity and call on another to administer the finishing blow, and so earn the right of wearing what to an Orokaiva was perhaps the proudest possible distinction.

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81 ceremonies. I shall return to the difficult question of the significance of *otohu* at the end of the chapter. For the present it may be said that it is a ceremonial ornament of great value and often of great beauty which is commonly bestowed on the occasion of the début and *kokumbari*.

[554] It is the invariable custom to call upon some old warrior of distinction to bestow these ornaments: such a man is called *aguma* or *atempa*. On this occasion at Divina Kovari there were three of them, and I shall describe their part in the ceremony at some length.

The first was an old man of Togahu. Firm and self-possessed, he advanced to where the *otohu* had been laid on a mat, grasped them in two handfuls, and marched back and forth along a path which the spectators had formed between them, nearly a chain long and two or three yards broad. His business was to cry out the names of his own early victims, and having done this, he turned aside and handed over the *otohu* to the second *aguma*.

This was an old man named Handaupa of Hamara. Sitting somewhat apart he seemed loth to perform the office, and something like a murmur of applause was heard when he finally accepted the two bunches of ornaments and began. He was doddering with age and showed a tendency to corpulence or pursiness which is unusual in an Orokaiva. He commenced by shouting that as he was now a very old man he might not be able to summon all his conquests back to memory. Accordingly two younger men who remembered his exploits better than he did himself took their places one at either end of the path between the spectators. Handaupa now began to cry out the names of his victims, the tribes to which they belonged, and the circumstances in which they had been killed. He would run the length of the path while he dealt with each victim, and as the list continued the old man grew more and more energetic. He would bend his ear to the prompter at either end. Then, when a few words had roused his recollections, he would turn, hardly waiting for the prompter to finish, and career down the path again, shouting at the top of his voice. He gradually showed signs of fatigue, discarded first one bundle of *otohu*,

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belief seem with the native to merge into one another: they are too near extremes between which he may be said to shilly-shally. Therefore, when the time comes to be done with the ceremony for good and all, he takes the precaution of removing by a final purificatory rite all possible influences for evil which the *embabi* may have left in the initiates. The same explanation, it may be noted, is offered for the various rites, including the *suna*, observed by the man-slayer, who must rid himself of the peculiarly malignant spirit of the man he has slain. 281 783

The Ototu. It remains now to say something further of the *otobu*. I have already referred to the homicidal *otobu*, or *esa*, in Chapter XI, and described the rites observed in the bestowal of the ordinary *otobu* in the present chapter. It is now our task to consider the meaning—or the various meanings—of the word. The *otobu* may for the present be defined as one of a number of distinctive ornaments or objects which, at a price, are ceremonially bestowed, and which the recipient is thenceforward entitled to wear or use. It will be understood that any one who was, so to speak, masquerading with an *otobu* would be exposed to obloquy or ridicule. In earlier days it is doubtful whether any man would have had the hardihood or folly to attempt it. Where, therefore, one sees a man holding a highly ornamented lime gourd with a shell mouth-piece, or a string bag decorated with dogs' teeth, or wearing cuscus streamers tied at intervals with bunches of feathers, it may be concluded that he has paid the price for them (or probably that the price has been paid in his behalf) and that he is fully entitled to their use. 301 554 [626]

There is a considerable variety of these ceremonial objects, e.g. a specially ornamented *bo* or string bag (*eti* or *betawa*), decorated spears or stone clubs, bone forks for eating, lime-pots, belts embroidered with *saima* shells or made of black creeper cord, cuscus streamers, &c. More commonly they take the form of ornaments (*hambo*) for the breast or forehead—hornbill beaks set in a half-circle, *gana*, *buave*, *bomo*, and the like (*vide* p. 39). They are always fine examples of their kind, and in some cases are extremely

301 ornate, with pendants and rosettes of dogs' teeth and scarlet
 554 seeds. They do not take the form of feather head-dresses,
 which constitute what I have throughout called the *kokum-*
bari. It will be understood, though, that the word *kokum-*
bari means literally 'decorate', and might correctly be applied
 to the *otobu*. A distinction is sometimes drawn between *di-*
kokumbari (bird or feather decoration) and *bambo-kokumbari*
 (ornament decoration), the latter, of course, meaning the
otobu. However, I shall continue to restrict the word
 'kokumbari' to the feather decorations which every initiate
 receives, and which are, as it were, cheaper than the *otobu*.

301 I have been assured that, whereas the *kokumbari* is given
 554 properly by the *nobo*, the *otobu* is given by the *mama* (not the
 431 actual father, but one of the paternal uncles); but we find
 that the latter rule, like the former, will not come well out
 of the wash. It is customary, of course, for the candidate's
 parents to supply the pig which is the price of the *otobu*.
 (In some cases he does so himself.) The father will bespeak
 [463] the services of some other—a craftsman—to make the
 actual ornament, and this man (the *otobu-embo*) is called upon
 as much for his skill and artistry as for any special relation-
 ship he bears to the boy. Among twenty-one cases it ap-
 peared that the *otobu-embo* was *mama* to the candidate in nine
 (in one of them he was the real father), *nobo* in six, *bitepemi*
 in three, *nabori* in one, *abiye* (grandfather) in one, and in the
 last he was of no recognized relationship but merely *otavo*,
 or friend, to the candidate's father.

There is no actual social necessity for every man to
 receive an *otobu*, though it seems probable that at some time
 or other nearly every one does. And these further points are
 significant, that one person may receive a number of them
 at different times, and that he may receive them at any age.

The usual occasion for presenting them is at the *kokum-*
bari ceremony in which the recipients are sometimes quite
 young children who are still a long way from puberty.
 Again, as we have seen, the *otobu* may be given to the man-
 slayer (though this is not absolutely invariable). But it
 appears further that an opportunity for bestowing an *otobu*
 might be made at any and every ceremony. Thus, for in-

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stance, at a dance in Petakiari, when a widow ceremonially discarded her mourning jacket of *baja*, or Job's Tears, she was presented with an *otobu* in the form of a specially decorated *bo*, and this with all the usual formalities. 203
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In view of these facts we may regard the *otobu* as embodying a social distinction. It implies that its owner has paid a pig, or that it has been paid in his behalf, and thus the ornament has been formally and regularly acquired. Further, to the native who loves ostentation the *otobu* is worth having for its own sake, apart from any social distinction it may connote: it is a fine thing, for instance, to wear a 'magnet-shaped' shell ornament (*mendo*) passed through one's nose-hole and dangling somewhat awkwardly in front of one's lips, or to sit and rattle one's spatula noisily in the shell mouth-piece of an *otobu* lime-pot. In short the *otobu* has both honorific and decorative value.

It would seem that in Orokaiva custom as we find it there is no very essential difference between the 'pig *otobu*' and the 'man *otobu*,' or *esa*. They are of the same nature, but one is bought with the body of a pig and the other with that of a human victim. As we have seen, a victim's body may be used alternatively with that of a pig to satisfy social obligations, as, e.g., in the matter of a bride-price. It is therefore likely that a man who had a corpse at his disposal might equally acquire an *otobu* with it, and in this view it would appear that the homicidal *otobu*, or *esa*, was less an *insigne* conferred, *causa honoris*, upon the man-killer as such, than an ordinary *otobu* purchased with the body of his victim. 301
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Against this view, however, are the facts that certain of the *otobu* ornaments assuredly do stand more or less distinctively as homicidal insignia, and that in conferring an *otobu* a warrior of renown always recites his past conquests and sometimes calls upon the candidates to follow his martial example. These facts may hint that all *otobu* were originally dependant upon the slaying of a man, the pig *otobu* being nothing more than a poor and unromantic sub-

¹ See p. 178; also Beaver, 'Homicidal Emblems among the Orokaiva', *Annual Report*, 1918-19, p. 98.

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301 stitute. If such be the case, however, the change must have
 554 taken place or the substitution have been allowed in the very
 727 distant past, for we find that the well-established custom of
 the Orokaiva was to grant *otobu* both for human corpses and
 for pigs, and not only to man-slayers, but to boys, women,
 and young girls. So that an *otobu* together with the social
telat and dignity which its possession implies, is not only
 for the man-slayer but is within the reach of every one.

301 But the *otobu* with its social distinction may involve some
 554 social obligation. And this brings us to a discussion on
 196 the meaning of the word, which proves indeed a rather
 baffling subject. Beaver (who uses the Binandele form of
 the word, viz. *kotopu* or *Kortopo*) has said: 'I am not alto-
 gether clear whether the word "Kortopo" is strictly appli-
 cable to the act, the ceremony, the thing, the donor, the
 recipient, or to all of them, and, in describing the ceremony,
 therefore, the word may be used rather loosely. The Anglican
 Mission uses the word in the Binandele language to translate
 our "set apart"; and therefore "holy". The sense, I gathered
 from my informants, was that of "superman", and indeed
 it is no great tax on the mind to connect the two.'

While I would not deny that both these meanings may
 attach to the word, I still have not met them in my own
 inquiries. The only time I heard anything approaching the
 meaning 'superman' was when an Orokaiva, who had
 settled in another part of the Territory, gave *kotopu* as the
 equivalent in his language for 'chief'. The meaning of 'set
 apart' or 'holy' perhaps comes nearer to the results of my
 own questioning.

Adjectivally, the word seems to indicate 'well-behaved' in
 the widest sense of the term. It was applied to a law-abiding
 and amenable member of society, and perhaps the nearest
 equivalent in our language would be 'decent' or 'respec-
 table'. The emphasis is certainly laid on the milder virtues
 rather than the more heroic. Thus a man was *otobu* or
otobu-embo who did not quarrel, who did not beat his wife
 or children, who did not ill-treat his dogs and pigs, and who
 did not steal. According to one informant, an *otobu* man

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was he who went about his work quietly, who returned 301
from his garden with wood on his shoulder and set it down, 554
and then chewed his betel without 'rowing'. Diligence 196
bears some part in this rather complex ideal, and so certainly
does generosity: an *otobu-embo*, I was assured, would never
refuse a request for tobacco. But it is on the negative
virtues of respectability that the greater stress is laid.

Now I am bound to think that this concept of *otobu* as a 301
good character bears directly on the instructions which the 554
aguma gives the initiate at the bestowal of the *otobu* ornament. 867
I have heard a number of versions of these instructions: the 881
youth is adjured not to quarrel or brawl, not to steal, not to
commit adultery. He is told to be diligent in the garden, in
hunting, and in fishing; and to be generous and helpful,
never refusing to fetch wood and water, or to give betel-nut
to his friend. So a woman is told to lend an ear to what
her husband says, and never give him 'strong talk' in return;
to accompany him wherever he goes; to be faithful to him;
and to keep her hands off other women's property.

It is at the actual presentation of the *otobu* ornament that
these injunctions are laid upon the youth or the girl, and
thenceforward, it appears, the initiate must live up to the
otobu character. I have been told that a man might refuse
to enter into a quarrel, saying, No, I am an *otobu-embo*;
whereas one who had never received the *otobu* would grow
up bad-tempered and a 'ne'er-do-well'.

We may conclude, therefore, that the possession of an
otobu does involve a social obligation. It is an honour and
a privilege bestowed by society, but it means that the
recipient should settle down as a thoroughly amenable mem-
ber of that society.

I would not claim that this meaning, viz. decent or amen- 301
able to society, was necessarily the basic meaning of *otobu*. 554
I should think rather that the name belonged in the first 196
place to the concrete object or ornament, and that it came
to be used for the negative virtues of respectability because
those virtues were impressed upon the youth when the
ornament was given him.

I am quite unable to offer any useful conjecture as to the

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derivation of the word. It was observed that *otobu* was the name given to the 'male' flute at Wasida, though this seems to throw no light on its meaning. More interesting perhaps is the fact that among the Baruga, southern neighbours to the Orokaiva, *kotopo* means a clan badge; and that this badge commonly takes the form of some arrangement of white ovulum shells which are presented to the initiates (fixed to their arms or legs) when they emerge from seclusion. It is not impossible that the Orokaiva *otobu* (or *kotopo*)—although it has no clan significance—should have been originally identical with the clan badge of the Baruga.

Girls' Puberty Seclusion

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The puberty seclusion of girlhood together with the formal ceremony of emergence may be treated separately, although they are in principle similar to the initiatory seclusion and the *début* which have been described in the foregoing pages. This last section should be regarded as an appendix to the present chapter.

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As explained on p. 184, the girl enters seclusion directly her first menses appear. After a term of varying length she makes a *début* similar to that of the initiates and receives her *kokumbari* or feather decorations. She may be content with this, marry, and never pass through her initiation. But very commonly she will qualify for initiation and an *otobu*, and this will necessitate a second seclusion among the initiates. It is the first, or puberty initiation, which I shall now briefly describe.

The girl is confined in a specially constructed compartment of the house. I have cases in which this was variously the house of her father, her maternal uncle, and her husband's father (for a girl may go to the house of her husband's father before she has reached the age of puberty). She is commonly confined alone, though, if by a happy coincidence several girls in the neighbourhood reach this point of development at about the same time, it will be arranged that they come down out of their seclusion on one and the same occasion. It thus happens that the duration of their confinement varies considerably, one girl having to wait for another.

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The distinction is simply between fellow men and men who are not fellows. 571

Extra-Group Morality

Since the interest of this chapter will be principally with intra-group morality we may dismiss the other side of the question rather briefly. We have seen that the Orokaiva tribe lived in a state of ever-recurring warfare with some or other of its neighbours. There were peace-makings or truces, but the truce was always a fragile one, and no village lived in permanent security. The Orokaiva achieved and probably deserved a warlike reputation, and in such conditions it is not surprising that they should set some store upon the virtue of bravery—though it does not seem to take the foremost place that we might expect. A brave warrior was called *koropa-embo*, a 'spearman', or *ivu-embu*, a 'manly man', *ivu* being the word for husband or a fully matured man. Another term is *sarika*, which is perhaps best translated 'formidable', and connotes not only fierceness but size and strength. (By way of example one of the late magistrates of the Division was called *sarika* on account of stature, and another on account of his severity.) A coward is called *atoba-embo* or *jouro-buso*, and of course there are to be found some cowards among a generally brave race. Some of my informants in one village named a few men as *atoba* (and it is interesting to note in passing that, like true native gentlemen, they named them in whispers for fear the men in question should overhear and have their feelings hurt). 183 [52] 183 554

But more striking than any bravery is the sheer blood-thirstiness which seems actually to be raised to the status of a virtue. It is not for fearlessness that the insignia called *esa* or *otobu* (p. 177) are bestowed, but for the mere taking of human life. Many an old warrior, counting over his victims, will show as great a pride in the slaughter of women and children as in a man-to-man victory; and indeed the majority of Orokaiva victims have met their end in surprise and massacre rather than in fair fight. While I have found no evidence to show that the Orokaiva was expected some- [576]

183 time during his career to take a human life, as if this were
554 a social imperative, it is not too much to say that every individual aspired to be a man-slayer, and that his success brought him a great deal of honour.

183 There can be no doubt, however, that revenge was
628 regarded as an obligation, though the obligation might be fulfilled by any one of the victim's group, just as the vengeance itself might fall upon any one of the slayer's group, and not of necessity on the guilty man himself. Vengeance with its expressive name *diroga-mine*—'an exchange of the spirits of the slain'—may have had a supernatural sanction behind it, viz. the possible anger of the unavenged *diroga*, though I have never heard such an explanation expressed; but at any rate the unpaid debt of blood probably entailed a painful sense of inferiority which could only be removed by the satisfaction of killing one of the aggressors.

183 Needless to say there were no conventions of war, no
727 gratuitous mercy, and no sportingness. Men—young or old—were killed; old women were killed; young women might be raped and killed or borne off to become captive wives; children were killed or made prisoners. Though, on the other hand, there was no gratuitous cruelty, the victims were not tortured; and captive women and children were treated with kindness.

183 Treachery, of which one or two examples have been
554 given (pp. 166-7), was not regarded as contemptible, and according to Beaver, as we have seen, one kind of homicidal emblem was specially assigned to the slayer of a peace emissary. Towards all outsiders the correct attitude was one of suspicion if not always of hostility; a complete stranger wandering alone would be regarded both as potential enemy and good meat; and when visitors came in friendship, as at a feast, there was never any lack of warlike readiness on either side. The very cries of welcome which are so characteristic of the Orokaiva are possibly a sign of the dormant hostility between guest and host, being recognizable in one case at least as meant for reassurance of the former regarding the intentions of the latter.

511 Perhaps the most characteristic of them all is *liberality*. The liberal man is *bandembo*, the word *bande* meaning distribution, or especially the sharing out of food. It is easy to understand how this should be a popular virtue, for the Orokaiva, like other natives, are much addicted to the making of feasts—and not because of a merely gluttonous appetite, as some who know least about natives have supposed, but more because of the glamour and the excitement of a social gathering. It is true we cannot acquit the *bandembo* of a certain motive of self-display; for there is nothing, not valour in war nor prowess in the chase, that brings an Orokaiva so prominently into the public eye as the providing of a big feast. Yet no one could deny the existence of true generosity. This is shown in countless details of daily life. The paddler pauses to refresh himself with cold cooked taro; he wrenches a mouthful with his strong teeth and hands the lump without a word to the man behind him, as a boy might give his chum a bite out of the apple. Or when the carriers halt for a 'smokeoh' and receive their stick of tobacco, there is never one of them but has a puff or two; and when they push on again with their loads, a man will place a half-finished cigarette on a stump by the track, and another coming behind will hastily snatch it, take a few draws, and leave it once more on another stump fifty yards farther on for the next man.

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431 Although there is no systematic sharing of food supplies, yet the constant gifts and the feasts large and small achieve in the long run what amounts to equal distribution. As we have seen, the family is a self-supporting unit and garden produce is privately owned; further, since every man and woman works hard enough for the supply of immediate wants, there is no scarcity (except in a hard season when all may suffer alike). Therefore we may take it that in common daily life the consumption of food is fairly equal all round, and when a man with his family and dependants have a surplus, that surplus will not be devoted to private over-eating, but to a feast; and the succession of these feasts means in the long run that the fairly equal distribution of food is maintained. To give freely of one's food is regarded as the

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III

he goes, and if she does not steal from the other women. Orokaiva society is organized about the men and the expression of their personalities. To be *otohu*, a man has to be generous; what is required of the woman is that she should concur in her husband's generosity. Wealth is valued, because the possession of enough pigs and a good supply of taro makes it possible for a man to hold a feast. Holding feasts is the epitome of generosity, which is the most important Orokaiva virtue. Men are encouraged to be highly individualistic. Women are individualistic, too, but this seems to be a by-product of male individualism.

The *otohu* ornaments, which are worn by many, are presented during the initiation ceremony to some of the novitiates, but they may be acquired later, on payment of a pig. They were largely homicidal insignia in former times. Some of them still signify that the wearer has killed a pig, but mostly they are ornaments which express the wearer's preparedness to enact the virtues listed above.

How far do the Orokaiva conform to the *otohu* virtues? They are generous and helpful to one another. They work their gardens regularly enough to ensure a plentiful supply of vegetable products from the fertile earth. Apparently adultery takes place rarely, although some of the women habitually accuse their husbands of fornication. Stealing is rare. But the Orokaiva men quarrel and brawl, and the Orokaiva women use "strong talk" to their husbands. So long as the individual does this only occasionally, he or she can still claim to be *otohu*. I have stressed the *otohu* virtues to make it clear that the norm in Orokaiva society is not in conformity with minimum legal requirements, but an approximation to ideal standards.

As well as conforming to the *otohu* ideals, an adult male is expected to be strong and fearless. This expectation is largely un verbalized, excepting in reminiscences of the idealized past. The Orokaiva have a bloody background of constant warfare with the Managalasi and the Togaho as well as continual internecine strife. The war leaders, fearless and fearsome, are greatly admired in retrospect and are held up to the young boys as examples of ideal personalities to emulate. When an institution loses influence and even disintegrates or becomes extinct, motivations continue to be patterned in accordance with them. Warfare happens no longer,⁴ so to-day much of the training of Orokaiva boys is anachronistic, because of this "subjective lag."

(2) EDUCATION IN CONFORMITY

Viewed as a process which implements social control by teaching what norms should be adhered to and what are the consequences of aberrant behaviour, education presents three important aspects: Firstly, it involves the *internalization of norms or ideal patterns*. We are concerned with discovering the values held by adults to be important enough to impress upon the growing child. There are the explicit values, and in studying how these are impressed upon the child we should look for implicit values which are incidentally transmitted. Education occurs within the field of adult-child interaction, which is inevitably authoritative in some respects. In as

⁴ Monckton, in the *Papuan Annual Report* for 1904, reports that the pacification of the tribes of this area was accomplished in that year.